

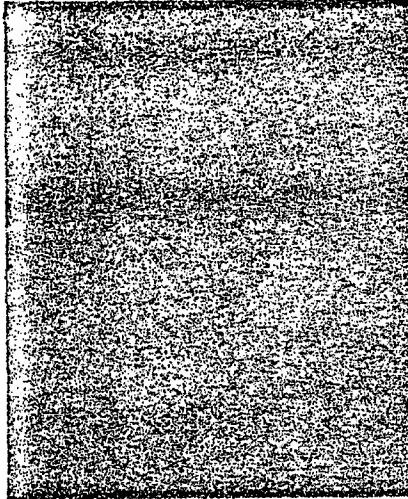
TENG Hsiao-p'ing
(6772/1420/1627)

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

邓 小 平

Member, Politburo,
Chinese Communist Party
Central Committee; Vice
Premier, State Council

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The second highest ranking victim of the Cultural Revolution (1966-69), Teng (pronounced dung) Hsiao-p'ing returned to public life as a Vice Premier of the State Council in April 1973. Elected to the 10th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP-CC) in August 1973, Teng was promoted to the Politburo in January 1974. In addition, he apparently became the only civilian member of the Military Commission of the CCP-CC.

The most active and prominent of the rehabilitated victims of the Cultural Revolution, Teng has maintained a heavy schedule of meetings with foreigners and has served as the primary escort of visiting Chiefs of State during their tours of China. Relieving Premier Chou En-lai of many routine daily responsibilities, Teng has probably become a supporter of the moderate Premier in the delicate balance between radicals and moderates within the Politburo.

Teng's prestigious assignment to head China's delegation to the UN General Assembly Special Session on World Resources in April 1974 has made him the highest level Chinese official to visit the United States since the founding of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949.

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Fall From Power

By January 1965 Teng ranked third in power after CCP Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the newly elected President of the PRC, Liu Shao-ch'i; the latter two controlled the party and state apparatus, respectively. Teng had been a Vice Premier since 1952 and secretary general of the party and a member of the Politburo since 1954.

Late in 1965 Mao, alarmed by the ideological weakening of the leadership and the masses, launched the Cultural Revolution. One year later Teng and Liu, charged with responsibility for the ideological backsliding, were disgraced and removed from their posts.

Mao's principal complaint against Teng was that he failed to keep him informed and relied for advice on such critics of Mao as the mayor of Peking, P'eng Chen. In retrospect, Teng may have been guilty of little more. In his confession of October 1966 he admitted being guilty only of bureaucratism and subjectivism--making decisions without a scientific analysis of Marxist-Leninist-Mao Tse-tung Thought. Teng was never criticized in official public media, and responsible critics never questioned his patriotism. Teng's last public appearance before his rehabilitation was in December 1966. His name was seldom mentioned after 1969, while Liu Shao-ch'i's remained a common epithet.

Rehabilitation

By 1969 rumors had already begun to circulate that Teng would return to official circles, and by 1972 several reports placed him in a low-level party office in Peking. It was probably in 1972 that Mao, over the opposition of his wife, Chiang Ch'ing, who leads the radical faction in the Politburo, but with the concurrence of Premier Chou En-lai, leader of the moderate faction, endorsed the reversal of the party's judgment of Teng. Teng's confession to serious errors, his proven organizational expertise, and his past record of loyalty to the party and to Mao combined to win him his reinstatement.

Debate over the rehabilitation of Teng and other victims of the Cultural Revolution has deepened the split between the moderate and radical factions within the Politburo. There is still significant opposition to Teng's return from leaders who came to power as a result of the Cultural Revolution. Chiang Ch'ing, who was conspicuously absent from the state banquet at which Teng--former target of her verbal assaults--made his first public appearance in 1973, waited nearly 2 months before making a joint appearance with him. She is probably responsible for the periodic attacks in China's media on moves, including the rehabilitation of purged officials, that have tended to subvert Cultural Revolution accomplishments.

Early Life and Career

Teng Hsiao-p'ing was born in Szechwan Province on 22 August 1904. He graduated from a middle school in his native province. In about 1919 he went to Shanghai, where he joined a worker-student group that included such prominent Chinese Communists as Chou En-lai, Li Li-san, Nieh Jung-chen, Ch'en I, Li Wei-han, Ts'ai Ch'ang and Li Fu-ch'un. In 1920 this group went to France to receive higher education and to assist in postwar French reconstruction. While in Paris Teng and his colleagues founded the Chinese Communist Youth Party in 1921.

After spending a few months in the Soviet Union, Teng returned to China in about 1926 and joined the CCP. He subsequently worked on party organization matters in Shanghai until the CCP-Kuomintang (KMT) split in 1927. During the next 3 years he helped organize army units to fight against the KMT during the Chinese civil war. In the Kiangsi Soviet in 1931, Teng was a section chief in the Propaganda Department, an editor of the army journal *Hung Hsing* (Red Star) and a teacher at the Red Army Academy at Jui-chin. In 1934-35 he took part in the Long March to Shensi Province. During the Sino-Japanese War (1937-45) Teng was the political commissar of the famous 129th Division of the 8th Route Army. By the end of World War II he had become one of the most important political figures in the Red Army.

When he was elected to the CCP-CC in 1945, Teng was a member of the North China Bureau of the CCP-CC and political commissar of the military districts in that area. Shortly after the establishment of the People's Republic of China in October 1949, Teng became a member of the new Central People's Government, the People's Revolutionary Military Council and the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC); he retained those posts until the government reorganization of September 1954. With the establishment of the Southwest Bureau in 1950, he emerged as a ranking party official. Headquartered in Chungking, he served until 1952 as secretary of the bureau, as political commissar of the Southwest Military District and as vice chairman of the Southwest Military and Administrative Committee.

Transferred to Peking in August 1952, Teng was appointed a Vice Premier and given a seat on the State Planning Commission (SPC). In September 1953 he succeeded Po I-po as Minister of Finance and also became a vice chairman of the Finance and Economics Committee. He abruptly lost both of these posts in June 1954 when he became secretary general of the CCP. With the reorganization of the government later that year, Teng remained a Vice Premier and assumed the additional position of Vice Chairman of the National Defense Council. In addition, he was a Standing Committee member of the Second CPPCC (1954-59).

The Kao Kang Conspiracy

Circumstantial evidence linked Teng's sudden shift to the post of secretary general of the CCP in 1954 to the purge of Politburo Member and Chairman of the SPC Kao Kang, CCP-CC Organization Department Director Jao Shu-shih and others who were involved in what was described as an antiparty alliance. As a member of the SPC, Teng had been in a good position to learn of Kao's plot to overthrow the leadership and might even have been asked to join the conspiracy. In 1955 Teng delivered the CCP-CC report on the uncovered conspiracy, suggesting that he had been instrumental in foiling the antiparty plot. Shortly after delivering the report Teng was elected to the Politburo.

One year later Teng emerged as one of the enormously powerful members of the small inner circle of party leaders when, during the Eighth Party Congress, he gave one of the three major addresses--the report on the revised party constitution. Formerly the lowest ranking member of a 10-man Politburo, he then rose to become sixth-ranked in a 26-man Politburo and was named to its Standing Committee. He was also named general secretary of the party, a post that had been vacant since the 1920's, and head of the party's Secretariat, a collective group charged with running the daily affairs of the party.

Teng did not associate himself with the Hundred Flowers movement of early 1957 that exploded into criticism of the CCP. When the rectification campaign began later that year, however, Teng was placed in charge. Delivering the key address to the Third Plenum of the Eighth Party Congress, he defended the party and suggested policies to rectify the shortcomings that had surfaced during the Hundred Flowers movement.

During 1958-59 Teng also managed to avoid close association with the disastrous Great Leap Forward, Mao's effort to rapidly industrialize China's economy. Apparently critical of the excesses of that campaign, Teng nevertheless wrote a defense of the program that appeared in *Jen-min Jih-pao* (People's Daily) and in a special collection of PRC 10th anniversary materials. When Defense Minister P'eng Te-huai and other alleged covert critics of Mao and the Great Leap were purged, Teng was not adversely affected.

Teng was a delegate to each of the National People's Congresses, held in 1954, 1959 and 1964.

Soviet Baiter

Teng's extensive liaison activity with foreign Communist parties, particularly the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), played an important role in enhancing his prestige during the 1950's. In October 1954 he was a member of the CCP group that discussed Sino-Soviet relations and the international

situation with the Soviet delegation to the PRC headed by Premier Nikita Khrushchev. He attended the 20th Congress of the CPSU in Moscow in 1956 and subsequently played a prominent part in the Sino-Soviet talks held in Peking with the Soviet delegation led by Anastas Mikoyan.

In 1957 Teng accompanied Mao to Moscow, where the Communist parties of the world negotiated the first of the Moscow Declarations on party unity. At the Second Session of the Eighth CCP Party Congress in May 1958, Teng delivered the party report on the Moscow meeting and earned the accolade, "Mao Tse-tung's close comrade in arms," an honor reserved for only five others in the party's history.

As the Sino-Soviet rift began to emerge in the late 1950's and early 1960's, Teng continued to play a pivotal role in Sino-Soviet relations. He was a key figure in the activities surrounding Khrushchev's 1959 visit to Peking. In 1960 Teng returned to the Soviet Union for the 43rd anniversary of the October Revolution and a November summit meeting of Sino-Soviet leaders. The Chinese and the Russians criticized each other severely at the summit sessions. Teng, even though he was deputy head of the delegation led by CCP Vice Chairman Liu Shao-ch'i, made his country's major speeches. In an unpublicized meeting with Premier Khrushchev, Teng forcefully accused the CPSU of developing a new personality cult around the Soviet Premier and of weakening the international Communist movement. In addition, he reputedly defended Mao against Khrushchev's criticism and charged the CPSU with attempting to subvert the Chinese leadership.

After the capitulation of the USSR to the United States in the Cuban missile crisis and its failure to support the PRC in the Sino-Indian border war in 1962, Sino-Soviet relations worsened. Teng, who by then had earned the reputation of being a man able to stand up to and infuriate the Kremlin, again went to Moscow to meet Khrushchev in July 1963. Upon his departure from Peking he received an unprecedented sendoff, attended by nearly every major

Chinese leader. After 2 fruitless weeks of negotiations, Teng returned to Peking and a welcome that gave an equally impressive demonstration of Chinese unity.

Before the Cultural Revolution Teng was addicted to the game of bridge, flying in bridge partners from around the country in army aircraft. His only known foreign language is French.

Teng has been married twice. His second wife, Cho Lin, is not politically active. According to Red Guard sources the couple has three daughters.

8 April 1974